1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

When a husband dies his widow may marry again if she wishes. As a rule I believe that it is not considered fitting that she should take another husband before the end of her mourning for her former one. Mr Man says "it is not considered decorous that any fresh alliance should be contracted until about a year had elapsed from the date of bereavement[1]." I knew of one case, however, of a woman with a young child who married again only a fortnight or so after her husband's death.

Mr Man speaks of a custom "which all but compels a bachelor or widower to propose to the childless widow of his elder brother or cousin (if she be not past her prime), while she has no choice beyond remaining single or accepting him; should she have no younger brother-in-law (or cousin by marriage), however, she is free to wed whom she will. It should be added that marriage with a deceased wife's younger sister is equally a matter of necessity on the part of a *childless* widower[2]."

I was not able to come across a case in which a man had actually married his elder brother's widow in recent years. The natives whom I questioned confirmed Mr Man's statement, which, moreover, was based on at least one instance known to him as having occurred. It may be noted that in his description of this instance Mr Man says that the woman married her husband's "brother or cousin," leaving us in doubt as to which of these two relatives it really was. There is an ambiguity in the use of the term "younger brother," for the Andamanese have no word meaning simply "younger brother," but only such terms as *ot-arai-čulute* and the equivalents in other languages, which apply to any younger person, whether actually a brother or cousin or not.

The recent changes in the social life of the Andamanese render it difficult to determine what was the former practice in matters of this sort, but I believe that the custom was this, that when a man of a local group died the older men selected one of the unmarried men and required him to marry the widow. They selected a man who was younger than the deceased, that is who was his *ot-arai-čulute*, and gave the preference to an unmarried younger brother if there were one, or to a relative of the deceased, such as a father's brother's son.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 139. [2] *Ibid.*

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

587 It may be noted that this custom may conflict with the other custom, previously mentioned, that a woman objects to marrying a man younger than herself. In the case mentioned by Mr Man a young man was compelled to marry a woman who was considerably his senior[1].

I believe that, in connection with, or underlying this custom there was an objection against a widow marrying a man who was older than her former husband (and who would therefore be his *ot-otoatue*). I regret that I cannot speak with certainty on these matters.

854 We may turn now to the duties to one another of parents and children. During their infancy the children are in the care of the mother. Children are, however, such favourites with the Andamanese that a child is played with and petted and nursed not only by his own father and mother but by everyone in the village. A woman with an unweaned child will often give suck [853] to the children of other women. Babies are not weaned till they are three or four years old.

[482] Before the children can walk, they are carried about by the mother, and sometimes by the father or other persons, in a bark sling (called *čiba* in *Aka-Jeru*), which is shown in Plate XIV.

857 After they can walk the children generally accompany their mothers in their expeditions near the camp for firewood or vegetables. When they are not with their mothers they amuse themselves with games in the village or on the beach. All the children of the coast villages learn to swim when they are very young, in fact almost as soon as they learn to walk, and many of their games are conducted in the water.

868 When a boy reaches the age of five or six his father makes him a toy bow and arrows, and sometimes a toy canoe. From this time the boy begins to learn the occupations of men and begins to pick up knowledge about the animals and trees and fishes of his country. The girl, accompanying her mother on her expeditions to gather roots and seeds, or to catch fish or pick up molluscs on the reefs, learns what it is necessary for women to know.

855 Until the age of about eight to ten a child lives with his

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 139.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

585 the newly married couple do not leave the encampment in order to get food, or anything else that they may require, as their friends consider it a duty or privilege to supply all their needs until the shyness, consequent on the marriage, has worn off.

[431] 12. Wedding presents being as much *de rigueur* among these savages as in Mayfair, the happy pair invariably find themselves enriched by their relatives and acquaintances with the various articles of ordinary use, such as nets, buckets, bows, arrows, &c., in honour of the event.

13. On the morning following the marriage the bridegroom's mother, or other near female relative, decorates his person by painting him with *tâ-la-ōg-*, while the bride is similarly ornamented by her friends. It often happens that a young couple will pass several days after their nuptials without exchanging a single word, and to such an extent do they carry their bashfulness that they even avoid looking at each other: in fact their conduct would lead a stranger to suppose that some serious quarrel had caused an estrangement.

[535] 14. When a few days have elapsed, and they are in some measure accustomed to the novelty of their position, they enter upon the duties of life, and conduct themselves like their neighbours: the marriage is then celebrated by a dance, in which all, save the bride and bridegroom, take part.

593 851 15. A certain amount of jealousy usually exists between young people during the first year of their married life;[1] indeed, complete confidence and genuine affection are never entirely established until they become parents or, at least, till the wife is found to be *enceinte*, and even their relationship to each other is not regarded as being so close *prior* to the birth of a child as it is *after* that event. Confirmatory evidence on this point will be given when describing the funeral rites,[2] where it will be noticed that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as chief mourner.

587 589 16. There is no prohibition against second marriages, but greater respect is entertained for those who show their love and esteem for the deceased by remaining single and leading chaste lives (*ō-yun-tē-mar-bar-minga-*). It is by no means unusual for a man, even though he be young at the time of his wife's death, to remain a widower[3] for her sake for many years, or even till death;

[1] It often happens that a man will not at first allow his wife to leave their hut at night for any purpose unless he accompanies her, professedly to protect her from dangers, spiritual and temporal, but in reality to satisfy himself that she has not made an assignation.

[2] *Vide* "Death and Burial," paragraph 20.

[3] It must, however, be admitted that as their customs allow of a widow or widower consorting with the unmarried of the opposite sex, a single life is not of necessity a virtuous one, or evidence of constancy and devotion to the memory of the dear departed.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

but widows generally marry again when the prescribed term has passed: this is not altogether due to inconstancy on the part of the fair (!) sex, but to the custom, to which allusion has before been made, which all but compels a bachelor or widower to propose to the childless widow of his elder brother or cousin (if she be not past her prime),[1] while she has no choice beyond remaining single or accepting him; should she have no younger brother-in-law (or cousin by marriage), however, she is free to wed whom she will.[2]

17. A young widow who is childless usually returns to the home of her girlhood; but, if elderly, she lives in one of the huts set apart for spinsters, and those who, situated like herself, are eligible for matrimony; during the period of her widowhood it devolves on one of her senior male relatives to act as her guardian; it is not considered decorous that any fresh alliance should be contracted until about a year has elapsed from the date of bereavement.

18. In the case of a widow who has children, it is customary for her to remain in the same community and keep house for her family; during widowhood—if her husband had been a chief or elder—she continues to enjoy the privileges accorded her in his lifetime. Should she re-marry and her husband happen to be a bachelor, or widower "without encumbrances," it is usual for him to join her community, and live in her hut, but if they both have families it becomes a matter of arrangement between them which establishment shall be given up.

19. Some idea of the erroneous views formerly held respecting their marital relations will be gathered from the following extracts:—(*a*) "There is promiscuous intercourse save with the parent, which only ceases in regard to the woman when she is allotted as wife to a man, but is retained as the prerogative of the male sex."[3] (*b*) "Marriage, as we understand the word, is unknown to them, and there seem to be few restrictions of consanguinity, a mother and her daughter being sometimes the wives of the same husband."[4] A similar statement appears in Dr. Brown's work, and the source of both is probably to be found in the following passage in Dr. Mouat's book, in which he publishes several extraordinary stories told by an escaped

[1] It should be added that marriage with a deceased wife's younger sister is equally a matter of necessity on the part of a *childless* widower.

[2] A case of this kind came under my notice where a young man living at one of the homes was reluctantly married to the widow of an elder brother, or cousin, who was considerably his senior, and innocent of any attractions. This *mariage de convenance* proved by no means a happy one, though, so far as could be judged, neither had any just cause of complaint against the other.

[3] *Vide* Mouat.

[4] *Vide* Wood.